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REF ID: REDWOOD/REDSKIN / Baltic Operational Potential in Sweden

REF ID: OSMA-7299, 13 December 1961 See pg 17 - KALINAS

1. As an attachment to this dispatch we are forwarding [ ] overall review of the Baltic community in Sweden. On the basis of this review and other needs, we would like to make the following recommendations:

- a. That a replacement for [ ] be made available as soon as possible, preferably to arrive by May of this year to allow for an overlap with [ ] before the latter's departure.
- b. That this individual be a staff case officer, or at the very least a staff agent of long experience who can write his own reports and dispatches. He should have access to files and support materials.
- c. That he speak Estonian but that neither he nor his cover be associated with Estonian exile activities here. If Estonian is not feasible, a fluent knowledge of Swedish would be most desirable. This would be valuable in any case.
- d. That he be flexible enough to service [ ] needs as they may arise.

We of course realize that this is a tall order with little likelihood of being fulfilled in all of its particulars, but the following paragraphs take up in order our justification for the above recommendations.

2. With [ ] due to leave in June arrangements must be made to provide continuity with the going assets which he is handling. They have not been introduced to any of the three officers who remain, and as we wish, a replacement to handle them be must either arrive in time to receive a personal introduction or be left with the less satisfactory solution of carrying out prearranged recontact instructions. Another alternative would be to introduce one of the three remaining officers to the agents for temporary handling until the replacement arrived, but this also has its drawbacks in terms of agent morale, security, and the workload which we already have. Accordingly, we would like the replacement here in time to effect a smooth transition.

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see pg 17  
for Kalinas

activities of the Central Council. Simplifying the situation, the currently established conservative bloc of "Nacionālie Darbinieki" (National Collaborators), "Daugavas Vanagi" (nationalist ex-subalterns), the "Farmers Association" (conservative agrarians), and a part of "Christian Democrats" (conservative Catholics) participate in the "Central Council". The "Social-Democrats", the "Union of Latvian Liberals", and the liberal Catholics, as well as all those who are opposed to old parties and old leadership, do not. The "Central Council" is therefore not representative of the political attitude of the entire country, has practically no contacts whatsoever with Swedish authorities or political parties, and is regarded by the younger Baltic generation, especially by those who are to the left of the Council's political line or oppose party organizations in general, as a useless encumbrance. Roughly speaking, about 30-35% of all adult Latvians in Sweden accept it, "Mute de mœur", as their political representation. The "Central Council" has no permanent office or office space; it meets either in private apartments or in the apartment owned by the officially apolitical (but conservative) "Latvian Union in Sweden", Stockholm, Sveavägen 70 II, the oldest Latvian organization in Sweden, founded in 1945, which played some importance in the immediate post-war years in assisting Latvian refugees to settle here, but which exists now more in name than in anything else.

d. At the elections for representation on the "Central Council", which were carried out from 5-10 January 1962, the total number of votes was 920 (just about 30% of eligible Latvian voters in Sweden). The results:

"Nacionālie Darbinieki"	- 331 votes (12 representatives on the Central Council)
"Daugavas Vanagi"	- 309 votes (10 representatives)
"Farmers' Association"	- 164 votes (6 Representatives)
"Christian Democrats"	- 57 votes (2 representatives)

The Chairman of the "Central Council" and its Board have not yet been elected and constituted. The new nominal political leadership (for the record):

"Nacionālie Darbinieki": O. FREIVALDS; I. ALKSNIS; O. SAKĀNS; A. KRODERS;  
A. SKRĀSTIS; A. VITGLINS; D. DZEDINS; G. ČEKULS; J. BĀRS; A. JAKOBSONS;  
A. OZOLINS; P. PETERSONS.

"Daugavas Vanagi": H. TEPPERS; L. TĀLTERS; I. FREIMANIS; Z. DZSLE; J.  
BREIDENĀRS; V. GINTERS; A. ĶSE; A. PAITĀRS; R. SMITMANIS; A. KADIKES.

"Farmers' Association": A. PĀDELS; P. RĀMĀRS (from Gothenburg); E. SUKSIS;  
Dagnija KRĒICBERGA; A. ROMĀNS; J. PRĀTS.

"Christian Democrats": K. MARCINKOVICS; J. MEDIES.

e. The actually prominent and influential public figures of the Latvian colony are not necessarily identical with the new leadership of the "Central Council". They are at the present time (information based on data supplied by AETRIGHTS/1, TICRIGEN/1, and Ramsey's own observations):

Janis TEPPERS - age 64, former Minister of Latvia in Finland (1938-40), who represents here the Latvian Legation in Washington and London. For the Latvians he is the official representative of the last legal Latvian government.

He is the figure head of the Latvian colony in Sweden and has recently retired from emigre politics. Aging, but still fairly active. Works in the "Svenska Handelsbanken" in a section that employs several prominent refugees from Soviet satellite countries. Conservative, pro-Western. He did not acquire Swedish citizenship, but would like to get it for practical reasons (old age pension). Personally on good terms with August KILI and several refugee leaders from satellite countries. Still has contacts in the Swedish UD (Foreign Affairs) where he worked as a translator from 1943-46.

Herbert KEPPELS - age 60 or above, Janis' brother; economist by education, works probably in a Swedish insurance company; he is active in both the "Central Council" and the "Latvian National Foundation", in which he represents now the "Daugavas Vānagi". Conservative nationalist, pro-Western. He is a good public relations man. Not a Swedish citizen.

Artur KRODELS - age almost 70. Editor and publisher of the weekly "Latvju Vārds", which by and large is the organ of the "Central Council". Very conservative, intolerant, an experienced but not always honest journalist, who has the reputation of being capable of intrigues. He is in constant feuds with some members of the colony. Agitates strongly against travel to Latvia by members of the colony.

O. KLEINERS - age about 55, lives in Uppsala where he runs a small book shop. He is a widely known writer and journalist (author of the books "The Tragedy of Latvian Soldiers in Sweden", Imants, Copenhagen, 1956; and another book on deportations from Latvia). Conservative nationalist, pro-Western.

I. LIEKINS - age 30-35, currently studying political science. He is one of the younger and promising men in conservative Latvian circles and has been just now elected to the "Central Council". Citizenship status unknown.

Leo TALTERS - age about 40, Chairman of the Swedish section of the "Daugavas Vānagi". Current occupation unknown. Former officer of the "Latvian Legion", nationalist, far-out right. He has been elected to the "Central Council". Citizenship status unknown. An energetic man with following among ex-soldiers. Attitude towards West rather ambiguous.

Haldemar GIITERS - age 65, archeologist, works in the Swedish "Historiska Museet" in Stockholm. Respected as a scholar and a person. Citizenship status unknown. Though a member of the "Daugavas Vānagi" list, he is more independent and more liberal.

Janis EPEIKS - age 75, but still active in the "Latvian Assistance Committee", of which he has been chairman for the last years. As a liberal he does not participate in the work of the Central Council. He is an acceptable leader of the Latvian relief work for many groups, is respected by the Swedish authorities for his common sense and practical abilities. An "arkiverbetare" - hence almost entirely dependent upon the Swedish authorities for his income and pension.

A. PADVISE - age 61, local leader of the "Farmers' Association", forestry specialist. (R. SAULITIS was the secretary of this political group.)

Dagnija KREICBERGA - elderly, sister of the more known Latvian ex-diplomat KREICBERGS, who is in Munich at the present time, working either for VOA or the

American Consulate. She has been elected to the "Central Council", works in the "Latvian Assistance Committee" and is one of the well-informed persons on the colony. "Arkivarbetare", citizenship status unknown.

K. MARCINKOVICS - age 38-40; a promising younger Catholic, occupation unknown.

V. HAUKLIS - age 45, an active man in Latvian catholic circles. He learned type-setting in exile and works now as a setter for "Latvju Vards" and some Swedish publishing firms.

Bruno KRAMERS - age 62, chairman of the Latvian Social-Democrats. Intellectually, politically and in sheer influence in Swedish circles he stands head and shoulder above any other public figure of the Latvian colony. Works as a lecturer and chief-librarian of the Sixth Institute of the University of Stockholm, has become a Swedish citizen. Participates as the chairman of his party in the Socialist International, SUCSE conferences and meetings, has contacts with the leadership of the Swedish Social-Democrats and possibly some small material support from them for the Latvian Social Democratic monthly "Briviba" edited by him with the aging party theoretician, Jānis ZVILPĀRS. His views are today those of the Western socialists (Frankfurt Declaration of 1951), but he is often impatient with the too mild line of the Latvian party colleagues towards the Soviets. As a writer and teacher, he has done probably more than any other Latvian in Sweden to enlighten the Swedish public opinion on the conditions in the USSR and the Baltic. Regardless of his anti-communist activities, he is disliked by many Latvians, not only for his socialist views, but also because he is a quick and aggressive person. Pragmatically pro-Western.

Andrejs EGLITIS - age 50, poet, writer, active in "Latvian National Foundation", whose only paid worker and secretary general he was until the recent elections. A nationalist with liberal views, he has made some enemies among the more conservative groups and has had his share of feuds with KRODĀRS (who has not!).

Prof. Arnoldis AVZIŅŠĒNS - precise age unknown, economist, teaches at the Stockholm "Handelshögskolan", specializes in Soviet economic problems. Does not take an active part in Latvian emigre politics, but exercises influence in Swedish academic circles. Pro-Western.

Janis MUDZĪTIS - age 53, journalist and correspondent of the Latvian newspaper "Latvija" published in Germany. Lives in Uppsala. Liberal, pro-Western, good analyst of political affairs. Citizenship status and current (additional) occupation unknown.

Mikelis BUKS - age 50, philologist and Latvian folklorist, Latgalian, catholic. Works in the archives of "Väg-och-Vattenstyrelse" (Roads and Water-Roads Administration), where he holds now a fairly good position. He has a moral influence among the Latvian catholics and especially among the Latgali. On friendly terms with V. IČCIS, editor of "Latvijas Zinātne" (Latvian Science) published in Munich. Liberal cat.

Janis ABOLINS - age 50, physician, medical doctor, works in a private Clinic in Stockholm. Likes to recall the Latvian health care organization. A liberal nationalist with pro-Western views.

Milda SAMKIS - age 76, wife of the former and late Latvian Minister in Sweden, journalist and welfare worker. An old and generally respected fixture of the Latvian colony, she has practically retired from public life, but exerces still some influence in a private way.

f. Among the younger generation some personalities have become more active in the colony in the last years:

Paul LIEPPINS - age about 40, shipbuilding engineer, married to the daughter of the former Latvian chief of "secret services", CHININS-CHELE; former chairman of the "Latvian Students Corporation in Sweden", now an active member of the "Daugavas Vanagi" and candidate for the board of the Latvian National Foundation. Intelligent, silent. Conservative.

Imants STREIBIKS - age about 40, construction engineer; formerly a playboy, now more sedate. Interested and active in the work of the "Co-ordinating Committee of Latvian Youth Organizations in Sweden". Pro-Western (AKTIGHT3/l's friend).

J. VINGARS - age about 32, musician. Recently elected to the "Central Council" as a representative of the "Racionālais darbinieki".

(A separate survey of the Latvian students in Sweden is in preparation by [ ]

g. The more important organizations are "Latvian National Foundation", Stockholm, Västmanagatan 27, and the "Latvian Assistance Committee", Stockholm, Kilsingegatan 5 I. Both organizations had elections in December 1961 and January 1962. The Foundation has a larger degree of support from all parties and groupings, though the Social-Democrats and the left-wing Liberals still do not participate. The only organization which unites all Latvians of different political colorings is the "Latvian Assistance Committee", on the board of which even the Social-Democrats are represented. The "Latvian National Foundation" is the cultural and information dissemination center of the Latvians in Sweden, publishes books and pamphlets on a modest scale, prepares unattributable leaflets of anti-Communist nature (a somewhat misguided attempt to prevent Swedish tourists from visiting Latvia is illustrated by the attached sample). It does not receive any material support from the Swedes and, at least officially, its only source of funds comes from annual fees (SK 12.- per person) collected from about 1000 Latvian supporters. Its former president was Col. Karlis LOZE, its secretary-general, Andrejs EGĀLĪTS. The latter does not appear on the two lists of the "Supporters of the National Foundation" and the "Daugavas Vanagi" and cannot be re-elected, but most likely he will have some function in the Foundation which he actually created and guided in the past years. J. RUTKIS, A. LANDSTĀVIS, A. SĀMĀNĀRS; I. ČALĀRS; Herbert TĒVIĀRS and Pauls LIĶĀRS are expected to play leading roles in the Foundation. The "Latvian Assistance Committee" is the most active and useful organ of the Latvians in Sweden. It provides legal help to newcomers, guides the educational activities, has an excellent library and the most extensive names and address file of the Latvians in Sweden. The current election among the paying supporters (474) gave most votes to the liberals, followed by social-democrats, "national citizens", Catholics and "Daugavas Vanagi". Up to now J. EPEIKS and Dagnija KREICHERGA, both "arbitrarbēkers", were chairman and secretary and most likely will continue as such after the elections. As in the case of the "Estonian Committee", there is here some degree of support from the Swedish authorities and the same degree of contacts and collaboration with the Alien Commission, the Royal Labor Board, the Swedish investigative organs. This is operationally a useful place to monitor, especially for information on Latvian travelers to or from Latvia and on the legal newcomers who normally register here or come to the attention of the Committee through local gossip.